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Women's Pathways into Parliament:
The Case of Indonesia

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis was to examine women's pathways into the Indonesian national parliament. Pathways constitute of both barriers and enablers, which were identified and discussed in the case of women's access to the Indonesian parliament. This was examined by answering the research question: "What do female MPs' narratives tell us about pathways into the Indonesian national parliament?", using two sub-questions about barriers and enablers. The thesis as based on multiple qualitative data, both primary and secondary, in order to build a case study. The primary data constitutes of narrative interviews with female MPs in Indonesia and written biographies from the Internet; the secondary material used in the thesis treats topics about women's access into the Indonesian national parliament. The main result in this thesis was that status play a huge role as an enabler for women's pathways into the national parliament in Indonesia. This was also missing from the theoretical framework within the thesis; these deviations can be used for theory building within this area of research.

Keywords: *gender, participation, Indonesian parliament, pathways, political access*

Word count: 15000

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik [Indonesia Statistics]
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah [Regional Representative Council]
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat [House of Representatives]
CSO	Civil Society Organization
GNP	Gross National Product
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam [Muslim Students' Association]
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MP	Member of Parliament
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat [People's Consultative Assembly]
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
Setneg	Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republic Indonesia [Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia]
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USD	US Dollar
VDSI	Van der Schaar Investments
WAMY	World Assembly of Muslim Youth

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1. INTRODUCTION

Pathways are not straightforward, they are not going from A to B as motorways; pathways are winding and uncertain, containing many elements that can disrupt or change the path (Cornwall, 2014:7). In this thesis, women's pathways into the Indonesian national parliament are examined. Barriers and enablers that women face are scrutinized and discussed in order to understand what constitutes as women's pathways into the parliament.

This thesis is based on multiple qualitative data, both primary and secondary material, in order to build a case study, and examine the case of women's access to state politics¹, more specifically the parliament, in Indonesia. The primary data can be categorized into oral and written biographies. The oral biographies are based on interviews with six female members of parliament (MPs) in Indonesia, five current and one former. The interviews focused on the participant's narrative on how they became MPs and about their work within the parliament and the written biographies are retrieved from different webpages that exists about MPs in Indonesia. Secondary literature is also reviewed; this material treats topics about women's access into the Indonesian national parliament. By examining and analyzing female MPs oral stories, written stories and secondary literature, a deeper understanding of women's pathways and access into the parliament is gained.

1.1 Purpose and Research Question

Indonesia's democratization process has opened up space for women in the public life and women are entering politics in greater number today (UNDP, 2010:27;11). However, women and men in Indonesia are not enjoying the same rights as men and women are lagging behind in the political life, in terms of number and power (Parnohadiningrat, 2002:xxiv; UNDP, 2010:1). The constitution of Indonesia places no restrictions on women's participation in politics. Therefore, legally men's and women's rights are equal, but in practice they differ. Politics in Indonesia is seen as a "man's world" and women can have a difficult time accessing the political sphere and gaining decision-making roles. Women are assigned the role as mothers in the private sphere, that of the

¹ By politics I refer to state politics, and in this thesis it is defined as elected officers to parliament.

household, while the men are assigned productive and decision-making roles in the public sphere, which is viewed as comprising state institutions. This has mainly to do with various traditional and cultural practices and laws that contradict the equality between men and women (ADB, 2002:45;94; Parnohadiningrat, 2002:xxiv, UNDP, 2010:3;27-28).

However, women do enter politics in greater numbers today, and the purpose of this thesis is to examine women's pathways into the national parliament in Indonesia, within these identify and examine various barriers and enablers. Other studies on this subject mainly focuses on women's access to politics in more general terms and knowledge about pathways to elected office at individual level remains underdeveloped (Choi, 2014:365). Here is where this thesis comes in, where the aim is to understand these individual pathways through oral narratives and written biographies by elected female MPs in Indonesia.

To examine female MPs' pathways into parliament one main research question will be answered:

What do female MPs' narratives tell us about pathways into the Indonesian national parliament?

In order to understand this better two sub-questions will also be answered. These two questions are part of the research question, as both barriers and enablers are part of pathways:

- 1. What kind of barriers do female MPs identify as hinders to access politics?*
- 2. How have female MPs succeeded in securing a place in parliament?*

These three questions complement each other, and will give a better understanding of women's access to the parliament through different pathways in Indonesia. There are some delimitations to the thesis, for instance how the female MPs that are examined are current MPs within the legislative branch of the political structure, more specifically the House of Representatives, the national parliament (DPR). The majority of the current MPs have served one or two terms, 2009-2019. There is a smaller group that has served three terms, and only one who has served four terms, 1999-2009.

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into six main parts: the previous part gave an introduction to the coming thesis. The second part will introduce the case of women in Indonesian politics; it will start with an historical background and then explain the current political system and how women fit within this system. The third part explains the research design and the different data used to analyze women's pathways. The fourth part introduces the theoretical framework and further explains about pathways and the different barriers and enablers going into this definition. The fifth part carries out a discussion, where the data is discussed in relation to the theoretical framework. After the discussion follows a sixth part, the conclusion of the findings; lastly there is a literature list and appendices with more detailed information.

2. WOMEN IN INDONESIAN POLITICS

2.1 Historical Perspective

Before the colonization of Indonesia, the current understanding of the state of Indonesia consisted of many different regions, or kingdoms, many of them ruled by women. The Dutch brought these regions together and during this era the current understanding of Indonesia as a state was born (Brown, 2011:2-3;13; Usu, 2010:5).

When it comes to the status of women in Indonesia, there has been a historical and constant underrepresentation of Indonesian women in all levels of decision-making (Bylesjö & Ballington, 2003:3). Ideas about women's rights first appeared in the 1920s within Dutch women's groups. At this time there were also women addressing political meetings for the first time. Women in politics were mostly connected to the nationalist movement during the colonial era, which led to women being seen as political actors, primarily in the eyes of the colonial authorities (Blackburn, 2008:86-87; Rinaldo, 2011:544).

By the end of the colonial period the groundwork had been established for women's political activity. According to Blackburn (2008:90) it was nationalism that legitimized the entry of Islamic women into the political arena. Within the Islamic movement people had accepted, and were accustomed to, women making speeches in public and political

settings. Leaders within the Islamic movement had also mostly accepted that women should have the right to vote.

2.1.1 Independence

Indonesia became independent in 1945, and it was not until then that the political entity of Indonesia came into existence (Brown, 2011:3). With the independence, two important steps for women's access to parliament was made: firstly, many groups had common goals during the struggle for independence, and women had a role in this struggle and participated via political parties and women's movements, which made them seen as political actors (Blackburn, 2008:85;91; Davies & Idrus; 2010:83; Usu, 2010:5).

Secondly, the independence resulted in Indonesia's constitution that guaranteed equal rights to citizenship for both men and women; however, few women were involved in formal politics at this time (Rinaldo, 2011:544). Shortly after the independence, in 1952, Indonesia ratified the UN convention on Political Rights for Women and gave Indonesian women the right to vote and be appointed to the legislature. General election laws allowed women to participate actively in the political arena and ensured women's right to participate in the decision-making process (Parnohadiningrat, 2002:xxiii).

The independence also led to Indonesia getting its first president. President Sukarno, who installed an anti-western political system that he called Guided-democracy. Within this system there were no public elections and the parliament and the parties played a small role, instead Sukarno and the military became the major political force. Sukarno's way of ruling reflected the Indonesian traditional values from the villages, which resulted in few women making it to decision-making positions (Brown, 2011:187;190-191; Usu, 2010:6).

2.1.2 The New Order

In 1965 general Suharto became Indonesia's second President, and led an authoritarian regime until 1998, called the New Order (Brown, 2011:204; Rinaldo, 2011:542). Women's political participation reached its lowest point during this period. The strong central government, based in Jakarta was able to intervene at both national and local level. Gender relations and gender roles were an important part of state control. Men

and women had clearly defined roles, the ideal New Order woman was a mother, wife and household manager, and this was called “State Ibuism”². Media was also under tight regulations and was used to spread gender roles. The patriarchal values and structural barriers discouraged and prevented women from participating in public affairs (Brown, 2011:205; Ratnawati, 2009:175; Robinson & Bessell, 2002:3;9; Rinaldo, 2011:544; Usu, 2010:7).

However, the expansion of the educational system during this period resulted in an emergence of more women who could be active in the public life. In 1978 the government created the Ministry for the Role of Women, bowing to international emphasis on women’s rights and CEDAW was ratified in 1984 (ADB, 2002:29; Bylesjö & Ballington, 2003:3; Rinaldo 2011:544; Rhoads, 2012:37; Usu, 2010:6).

The women’s independent activism was reignited in the 1980s and by the 1990s, a network of women’s NGOs was active and buzzwords of “gender equality” and “feminism” became popular, especially among the growing student movement. There was a backlash against feminism due to the stereotypical secular women, with opponents accusing it of being destructive to religious values. In the last decade, however, gender equality discourses have been taken up by some Muslim activists (Rinaldo, 2011:544).

The Suharto-regime came to an end in 1998; the Asian economic crisis spurred a democratic opposition movement and women’s groups played a great role in the downfall of the New Order (Rinaldo, 2011:542; Robinson & Bessell, 2002:3).

2.1.3 Post-Suharto

The fall of Suharto opened the way for a democratization process; it was the stepping stone to transformation. However, Indonesia’s democratization has not been without struggle (Rinaldo, 2011:540; Robinson, 2001:385; van Wichelen, 2009:173). Democratization has also been associated with decentralization, meaning that the central government’s power often is undermined at provincial and district level (Blackburn, 2008:98). During this period, called the *Reformasi* era, the inclusion of

² The term Ibuism comes from the word *Ibu*, which means mother in Bahasa Indonesia (Usu, 2010:7).

women has been one of the stated goals (Ratnawati, 2009:174) and the political transformation allowed for greater opportunities for women, and there has been a considerable progress in advancing women's rights and interests, such as regulations and gender quota (Robinson & Bessell, 2002:4; UNDP; 2010:27).

In 2001 the first female president in Indonesia was selected³, Megawati, daughter of Sukarno, Indonesia's first President (Brown, 2011:235; Robinson & Bessell, 2002:1). At first she did not get the presidency, as many leaders did not see a woman fit as ruling a country. Instead she became the vice-president next to President Wahid. But due to Wahid being corrupt and not meeting the demands by the people he was dismissed from office by the Parliament, and Megawati took over the presidency, between 2001 and 2004 (Brown, 2011:235-236;244). Having a female President brought issues of gender and politics into public focus. However, Megawati was not seen as a woman fighting for women's representation in parliament and publicly opposed the discussed quota system (Davies & Idrus, 2010:86; Robinsinon, 2001:385; Robinson & Bessell, 2002:1; Usu, 2010:7).

Henley & Davidson (2008:816) argues that democratization and human rights did not get as big a role as many hoped for after the Suharto regime's fall. Instead, there was a revival of decentralization and pre-modern sources of order, such as male-biased bureaucracy, gender-biased interpretations of religious teachings and value systems and cultural attitudes that discriminate against women (Robinson & Bessell, 2002:4). The Post-Suharto era unlocked Indonesian politics for the influence and participation of religion, such as political Islam, which the New Order discouraged or banned (van Wichelen, 2009:173).

The next section of the thesis will introduce the current political system in Indonesia, as this is important for understanding women's participation in parliament.

2.2 The Political System

Indonesia is a multi-party presidential democratic republic. The political system consists of three branches: the executive branch, the legislative branch and the judicial branch

³ Note the difference between elected and selected. Megawati was not elected as another president first was appointed (Brown, 2011:235-236).

(Setneg, 2010; VDSI, 2015*b*). The executive branch consists of the president, the vice president and the cabinet (see Appendix A). The President and vice-president are chosen by the people via direct elections⁴ and the cabinet members are appointed by the president and vice-president and answer to the president and not to any political party. They serve a five years term and can be re-elected once (Setneg, 2010; VDSI, 2015*b*).

The highest court in Indonesia's judiciary system is the independent Supreme Court. There is also the Constitutional Court, established in 2003, which monitors whether decisions made by the cabinet and parliament are in line with the Indonesian Constitution. However, most of the legal cases in Indonesia are dealt with by the public, administrative, religious and military courts (VDSI, 2015*b*).

The focus in this thesis is the legislative branch, which consists of two houses, the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Regional Representatives Council (DPD). There is also the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), that previously was the highest state institution and had the power to elect the president, this was changed before the 2004 election, and today MPR has no political power other than overseeing the work of the parliament (Setneg, 2010; VDSI, 2015*b*, Jakarta Globe, 2014).

DPD is the upper house and has limited powers. DPD is composed of representatives from each province in Indonesia. Four members are chosen from each province via direct elections in respective region, all members are independent of political parties. The DPD deals with bills, laws and matters that are related to the regions, and therefore, increasing regional representation at the national level (Setneg, 2010; Usu, 2010:2; VDSI, 2015*b*).

More specifically this thesis focuses on the DPR, or the lower house, which is composed of representatives of political parties. The members of DPR (referred to MPs in the thesis) are elected through proportional representation. The DPR draws up and passes laws, produces the annual budget in cooperation with the president and oversees the

⁴ Direct elections was done for the first time during the election in 2004. Before 2004 the president and vice president was elected by the MPR in the parliament (Jakarta Globe, 2014).

general performance of political affairs. Both members of the DPD and DPR are elected on 5-year term (Setneg, 2010; Usu, 2010:2).

2.3 The Current Status of Women in Politics

Today, Indonesia refers to the large archipelago nation with 34 provinces, spread across more than 13 600 islands (Brown, 2011:5; VDSI, 2015a). With a population of approximately 250 million, Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world, and also the world’s largest Muslim country (Blackburn, 2008:84; Rinaldo, 2011:542; VDSI, 2015a). However, there are hundreds of ethnic groups within the country and many different religions, where six of them are official: Muslim, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhism and Confucian (see Table 1). The largest ethnic group, which also is the politically dominant, is the Javanese, which contains approximately 40% of the total population, who are mainly populated on the island of Java, where also the capital, Jakarta, lies (BPS, 2011:9; VDSI, 2015b).

Table 1: Composition of Indonesia’s six official Religions

Religion	Percentage of Total Population
Islam	87.2%
Protestant	7.0%
Catholic	2.9%
Hindu	1.7%
Buddhist	0.7%
Confucian	0.1%

Source: BPS, 2011: 10

The social context in Indonesia is slowly changing in favor of women’s participation in the public life (UNDP, 2010:28). One example of this is the steps taken to adopt measures aimed at best practices in gender policies, in particular gender mainstreaming. Presidential Instructions No. 9/2000 directs all sectors of the Indonesian government to implement gender mainstreaming (Bylesjö & Ballington, 2003:3). One way of doing this is the women’s quota system, which was adopted before the 2004 Indonesian general election under Election Law 12/2003. This law stated that all parties should consider a 30% gender quota in nominating women in the candidate lists. However, this was only

recommended and a revised version of the quota law was adopted before the 2009 general election under Election Law 10/2008. This, revised version stated that the minimum quota of 30% women on the candidate lists became compulsory for each participating political party, both for representatives and local district leaders (Moita & Agustand, 2014:158; Ratnawati, 2009:174; Rhoads, 2012:36; UNDP, 2010:4; Usu, 2010:2; 8-9). Since the quota was introduced there has been an increase in female MPs, from 2004 to 2009 women’s participation has risen from 11.8% to 18%. However, this is mainly at a national level, at the local level the numbers are still low (Bachelet, 2012; Moita & Agustand, 2014:157; Rhoads, 2012:36; UNDP, 2010:4). In the most recent election, in 2014, this number declined with 1% (See table 2). At the same time the 2014 election also resulted in Indonesia’s highest number of female cabinet members, with eight female cabinet members out of the total number of 34 members of cabinet (see Appendix A) (Parlina & Widhiarto, 2014).

Table 2: Number of Women in Parliament from the First Election to Today

Election	Women		Men	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1955*	17	6.3%	255	93.7%
1971*	36	7.8%	424	92.2%
1977*	29	6.3%	431	93.7%
1982*	39	8.5%	421	91.5%
1987*	65	13.0%	435	87.0%
1992*	62	12.4%	438	87.6%
1997	54	10.8%	446	89.2%
1999	45	9.0%	455	91.0%
2004**	62	11.3%	488	88.7%
2009	100	17.9%	460	82.1%
2014	97	17.4%	458	82.6%

Sources: DPR, 2015; Kemitraan, 2014:15

* During the first six elections Indonesia was ruled under a “Guided Democracy” which resulted in the same party winning every election during this period of time, this was also the case for the President (Brown, 2011:186-187;204).

** First Direct Election (Jakarta Globe, 2014).

Even though women in Indonesia are enjoying higher access to public life, there is still the issue of women often fill a non-strategic role in parties and are missing at the executive and managerial positions. Women in leadership positions in party committees are often stereotyped and assigned positions “suitable” for women and are traditionally seen as “soft”. It is also common to have a “consumption” position for those in charge of the committee responsible for food and drinks for events and meetings, these positions are often filled by women. The commissions of the national legislature reflect traditional patterns for dividing responsibilities between men and women. The highest numbers of women are in commission IX (demographic Affairs, Health, Manpower and Transmigration) followed by commission X (education, youth, sport, tourism, art and culture) (See Appendix B for a full list of the commissions). Although it can be difficult for women to gain access to commissions that deals with economics, poverty and politics, but the current minister of Foreign Affairs is for the first time in Indonesia’s history a woman (see Appendix A) (ADB, 2002:93; Parawansa, 2005:86; Rhoads, 2012:39; UNDP, 2010:11).

The lack of women in positions of power makes it more difficult to implement law reforms to address gender biases in the government policies. The scarcity of women in decision-making positions can lead to that the development of economic and social policies privileging men’s perspectives and interests, as men are the majority of the decision-makers. The electoral system continues to reinforce the power of the political elite. Due to women not having decision-making roles they have no power to negotiate or influence, and thereby change (ADB, 2002:94; UNDP, 2010:1;24). However, there are more women in schools and universities today, and women have been an essential part of the democratization of Indonesia. This means that women’s influence continues to rise, and their part in public life can increase (Bachelet, 2012; UNDP, 2010:21).

2.3.1 Socio-Cultural Context

Women belonging to different religions, regions and socio-economic backgrounds face different challenges and constraints to their participation in the political life. The most fundamental challenge is the divide between the public- and private sphere. Indonesian culture and social values have patriarchal tendencies, where politics in general is considered a male privilege in which women should not participate. This is a common

obstacle for women across Indonesia and the subordinate status that women are given leads to women not being prepared to enter public roles, and when they do they continue to face the same challenges. Many women also face personal and psychological barriers due to lack of skills and self-confidence, familial responsibilities and a perception of politics as dirty (UNDP, 2010:23-25). This can be seen from a survey that UNDP (2010:24) did, where a majority, 78%, answered that men should be the decision-makers and leaders of the community and 94% answered that women should not work without the prior permission of their husbands. According to UNDP's report this shows that gender bias still exists in people's knowledge, attitudes and practices.

2.3.2 Islam

As Indonesia is the biggest Muslim country in the world, Islam is an essential part of Indonesian culture and politics; it is therefore significant for the understanding of gender relations in Indonesia (Blackburn, 2008:84).

Since the 80s there has been an Islamic⁵ revival in Indonesia, and after the fall of the Suharto regime it became more prominent in Indonesian politics (Blackburn, 2008:96; van Whichelen, 2009:173). This was mainly brought about by the many Indonesians who received scholarships to study in Egypt and the Middle East during the late 70s and brought back ideas of Islam as a way of life and rejection of separation between religion and politics. Some of these ideas, brought back to Indonesia, called upon women to dress and behave modestly. In the early 90s there were demonstrations by young women, demanding the right to wear the veil to school (Rinaldo, 2011:545).

The scriptural approach of radical Islam holds that women's role is in the private sphere, as mothers, wives and daughters, and that politics is a man's world (Blackburn, 2008:92). However, there is also another side where Muslim feminism has become visible in the Indonesian society and Muslim feminist writings have become popular and inspirational to Muslim women (Rinaldo, 2011:545).

⁵ The author makes a difference between Islamic and Muslim, where Muslim does not identify strongly with the religion and Islamic is likely to be a part of politics (Blackburn, 2008:84).

3. METHODOLOGY

This thesis relies on multiple qualitative data, both primary and secondary. The primary data consists of interviews with female MPs and written biographies which are retrieved from the Internet; the secondary data consists of literature on the topics of women's access to politics in Indonesia. The primary material can be further divided into written and oral biographies. These different materials build an in-depth case study of women's access to parliament in Indonesia (Creswell, 2007:246). Qualitative methods are also favored in this thesis as the objective is to explore the world through people's stories (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008:9; Brockington & Sullivan, 2003:57). This part of the thesis discusses the different kinds of material used to give a better understanding of what the thesis is based on, and what methods have been applied.

3.1 Research Design

The research design of this thesis is a case study; as the purpose is to study an issue explored through one case within a bounded system (Creswell, 2007:73). This thesis explores the issue of women's access into the parliament in the context of Indonesia, more specifically the focus lies on access to the national parliament. The historical scope of this case is the current parliament; the female MPs under study are current MPs. However, some of the MPs have served more than one term, and therefore the pathways into parliament reflect different years.

This is a single case study, which results in a more in-depth understanding of the case, which is important for the issue of women's access to politics, as this is a complex issue and therefore needs an in-depth case study (Creswell, 2007:76; Flyvbjerg, 2006:219). The analysis rests of a detailed in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of qualitative data (Creswell, 2007:73; Brockington & Sullivan, 2003:57). It is important to give a detailed description of the case, and in the analysis, focus on a few key issues or themes to provide a better understanding of the complexity of the case. This was done through identifying common issues within the case by reviewing the material, such as common barriers or enablers in the written and oral stories and the secondary literature; these will be described in more detail in the discussion (Creswell, 2007:75).

To be able to draw credible and trustworthy conclusions in a research, different measures have to be taken. One of them being triangulation, this is done through using

multiple and different sources and methods, another way to reach credibility and trustworthiness is to clarify the researcher's bias, by understanding the researcher's position and how it affect the interpretation of the findings, this is explored further down (Creswell, 2007:208; Mikkelsen, 2005:197; Moses & Knutsen, 2007:12).

3.2 Epistemology and Ontology

This thesis rests on an epistemological standpoint of social constructivism as biographies and narratives are believed to tell us about the reality, therefore the reality is seen as constructed through these stories. The reality is, therefore, subjective to the experience of the researcher, as the researcher develops a meaning of the stories. Even if the researcher has a role in finding meaning to the stories, the research is still relying as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation (Creswell, 2007:16;20; Moses & Knutsen, 2007:10). This also opens up to multiple perceptions of the world as the truth lies in the eyes of the observer. As social constructivism recognize an ontological diversity and complexity, the thesis relies on multiple forms of data in order to capture and understand the meaning of women's pathways into parliament, as a social phenomena (Moses & Knutsen, 2007:11-12).

3.3 Written Biographies

The written biographies used in the thesis are taken from webpages. I have mainly used three webpages (see Appendix C), which contain information about the female MPs (see Appendix D for a full list of female MPs). These pages mainly focus on the MPs employment history and education history. One of them (Merdeka.com), provide more information about the MPs, such as longer background stories. Some of the female MPs also have their own Wikipedia page, which often provide quite substantial information. A few of the MPs have their own webpages as well, which I have examined.

These pages are, however, not written by the MPs themselves, but are authorized or written by researchers, PR such as assistants and coordinators. This is often the case when it comes to public people, such as politicians, and I expect that the MPs or their assistants have looked through these pages and approved them. Also, as the issue under examination is not who wrote the biographies, but the identification of common barriers and enablers that constitute different pathways into parliament, authorship is not deemed an overly important issue. In addition, the information was triangulated as I

consulted multiple webpages. The webpages used are in Bahasa Indonesia, which resulted in having to translate them. I have mainly used Google Translate, which is deemed as a rather trustworthy source when translating from Bahasa Indonesia to English, according to my former Indonesian colleagues at UNDP Indonesia.

3.4 Interviews

The six interviews with female MPs (See Appendix E), five current and one former, were done in a narrative manner, as the interviews focused on personal experiences and (Clandinin & Huber, 2010:5; Creswell, 2007:55). Using the narrative approach I sought to highlight the diversity and complexity of the interviewees' individual pathways into the national parliament.

The female MPs that were interviewed for this research were chosen on the basis of different criteria. The first, and most important, criteria was that the participant spoke English as the interviews were conducted without an interpreter as I wanted to hear their stories in their own words without being interpreted one more time by the translator and therefore avoid some biases (Creswell, 2007:127; Mikkelsen, 2005:195). I also used snowball sampling when conducting my interviews as a way to gain access to an otherwise inaccessible group. In some cases I asked the participants for referrals, but more often the participants acted as gatekeepers and directed me to other MPs that I could interview. This is common when conducting elite interviews (see next paragraph), and therefore, it is often difficult to plan for candidacy adequately in advance, but rather it emerges as part of the fieldwork (Odendahl & Shaw, 2001:299;307; Ostrander, 1995:140).

The females who participated in this research are considered an elite group due to their status as MPs. Elite groups generally have more knowledge, money and status and assume a higher position than others in the population (Kezar, 2003:395; Odendahl & Shaw, 2001:299; Rai, 2012:195). The female MPs that I have interviewed can be seen as the elite of the elite, as most of them are from Jakarta and have lived a privileged life, in contrast to other more remote areas of Indonesia. This is mainly due to the language; most people that speak English in Indonesia have a more privileged background, as they often are educated, which is not universally affordable in Indonesia (Wright & Crockett, 1993:24).

Scheyvens et al (2003:182) claim that doing elite interviews has implications, one of them being related to access. My internship with UNDP Indonesia assisted me with gaining access to this group of people, as I met many of the female MPs through UNDP. During my phase of contacting the participants I did, however, realize that getting in contact with female MPs was not the biggest problem; the main issue was their time limitation (Ostrander, 1995:135; Scheyvens *et al.* 2003:184). Odendahl and Shaw (2001:308-309) describes what I experienced during my data sampling, that scheduling interviews with elites is labor-intensive and typically requires several telephone calls with personal assistants. They are also describing that, in general, the location of the interviews are chosen for the participants' convenience, which I also experienced during my data collection. All, except one, of the interviews were conducted at the participants' offices in the parliament-area in central Jakarta. This was to make the most of the time allotted (Odendahl & Shaw, 2001:307; Ostrander, 1995:140).

The interviews with the female MPs were semi-structured and open-ended; the interviews followed an interview guide (See Appendix F) that was written beforehand, as this was found advisable by Odendahl & Shaw (2001:310), Ostrander (1995:146) and Riessman (1993:55). The interview guide covered broad questions about topics and issues to be covered during the interview, such as the MPs way into parliament, their work as MPs, obstacles and support. There were also more specific questions in case the participant had trouble getting started. This kind of interview gave me some freedom to ask the questions in different orders and phrase them differently depending on where the interview was headed. The strength of this approach is that it increases the extensiveness of the data and makes the data collection somewhat systematic for each participant. The interviews also tended to be more conversational with open-ended questions, which encouraged to storytelling as the questions opened up topics and allowed the participants to construct their answers in a way they found meaningful (Mikkelsen, 2005:171; Reinharz & Chase, 2001:225; Riessman, 1993:54; Robert & Shenhav, 2014:10). The fact that the participants are an elite group was also helpful when conducting narrative interviews and having the interviews more conversational, as elites often have characteristics of being used to being asked what they think and people being interested in what they have to say made the participant engage in the

interviews and also tended to “just talk”, which was valuable for the narrative interviews (Odendahl, 2001:311; Ostrander, 1995:143;146).

There are, however, also weaknesses of the approach used for the interviews. One thing is that topics can be unintentionally forgotten during the interviews, whilst another is the flexibility the researcher has in phrasing of the questions, which can result in substantially different responses, and can lead to a reduce in the comparability of the responses (Mikkelsen, 2005:171; Reinharz & Chase, 2001:225; Riessman, 1993:54; Robert & Shenhav, 2014:10). However, as the purpose of this research is to hear the MPs’ own stories, different responses is not an issue, as each will be unique either way; and this is the beauty of narrative interviews.

3.4.1 Ethical Considerations

Confidentiality is especially important when interviewing elites. It is important for researchers to not disclose personal traits through which the respondents could easily be identified (Odendahl & Shaw, 2001:313). I presented the participants with a consent form before the interviews started, where general ethical guidelines were met, such as the participants being able to withdraw at any time, stating my purpose of the interviews, for the participants to understand what the data will be used for, confidentiality and that the interviews are recorded (Josselson, 2007:537;541). As confidentiality is important for elites, there is also a part that states that I am the only one that will hear the recordings and that they will be erased after the transcription of the interviews, this was positively welcomed by the participants. One way of meeting the confidentiality agreement is anonymity, therefore all MPs interviewed are anonymous and referred to as MP1, MP2 and so on.

As for the webpages, as they are public, the issue of anonymity are different than in interviews, and as seen in appendix D all names of the current MPs are shown as the information is taken from public webpages, and not from the interviews.

3.5 Reflexivity and Positionality

“The construction of any work always bears the mark of the person who created it. Beginning with locating myself and the context that shaped this work” (Riessman, 1993:v). Therefore, it is important to position myself in this research and my data and to

reflect on my position. To situate knowledge I need to consider my own role, as a Swede, as a female, western, student, middle-class and so on, as this may influence the data collected, it is a process of achieving self-awareness (Andrews, 2007:496; Josselson, 2007:545; Rose, 1997:308-309).

Interviewing elites unavoidably leads to questions about the researcher's own status and identity (Odendahl & Shaw, 2001:310). Me, as a researcher, was always in a lower status than the participants. The main issue when conducting elite interviews is to establish the kind of relationship and control of the interview situation most effective for getting good data (Ostrander, 1995:142). Being much younger than the participants, as in my case, can also make it difficult to be taken seriously (Odendahl & Shaw, 2001:312). However, I did not experience this during my interviews, which I think was due to my position as an outsider and the fact that the interviews were conducted in English. Many of the participants excused their English in the beginning of the interview. Positionality is important to reflect on when doing elite interviews (Clandinin & Huber, 2010:5; Scheyvens *et al.* 2003:182). My position as an outsider was often helpful. I experienced the same thing as described by Scheyvens *et al.* (2003:186) that people were flattered that I want to know about their society, about them and many were very interested in me as an outsider. This position helped me in both getting access and getting information. In addition, people in Indonesia are very friendly and keen to help me, especially as an outsider, which made it easier to get in contact with the female MPs. A friend of mine from Indonesia told me that a local researcher would never have the same treatment as I had, not getting access as easily. Ostrander (1995:143) discusses elites' way of making people feel comfortable and being able to close the gap between themselves and others. This was something I experienced while conducting my interviews.

There is also the element of cross-gendered issues for my research, cross-gendered issues (Scheyvens & Leslie, 2000:119). My background as a Swedish woman always affects me, and it was something I needed to think about when conducting my interviews. To not judge cultural features that might not be as gender equal as I am used to. According to Scheyvens and Leslie (2000:120) this issue can be overcome by the researcher being informed and sensitive to the local socio-cultural contexts, as I was

living and working in Jakarta, with only Indonesians, it was easier to overcome this issue. I was indulged in the culture and tried to learn more by asking, in that sense I was not positioned as an outsider as much.

3.6 Data Analysis

The interviews were recorded and then transcribed (Riessman, 1993:56). I started with a first draft of transcription with the entire interviews transcribed word by word to avoid any errors. Then I went through the transcriptions again and selected portions for a detailed analysis. The selected parts were based on categories found when going through the interviews. The theoretical framework assisted in coding and categorizing, as many of my findings were found in the framework as well. However, not all findings were in accordance with the theoretical framework used in the thesis. I examined the interviews for pathways that could be identified in the interviews, and what enablers and barriers they met during their way into parliament. I also re-wrote the selected parts to proper English, however, it is important to strive to communicate the essence of their stories, without elaboration or embellishment (Ely, 2007:574; Poland, 2001:629-630; Riessman, 1993:56).

From the webpages I sampled information about the female MPs age, work background, political and organizational work, education, their most important mission or vision, what commission they are in, their origin, religion, family and why they entered parliament (if this was stated). I also had a column where I could enter some extra information if there were any. All this information was entered in an excel document and then I went through the information to identify what pathways, enablers and barriers into parliament could be recognized. All the material was analyzed in the same sense, crosschecked for categories and common pathways, enablers and barriers into parliament. Some categories came from the theoretical literature while others came from my material; therefore the analysis is both inductive and deductive (Creswell, 2007:38-39;163; Bryman, 2012:13; Mikkelsen, 2005:168-169;181).

3.7 Limitations

Some limitations have already been highlighted through this chapter, but I will present some more general limitations here. One of the main limitations in the data sampling

was the language barrier, both during the interviews, written biographies and finding data as most of the data was in Bahasa Indonesia.

The language criteria during the interviews posed an issue for the research, as the MPs that spoke English often had a similar background and class, and all of them are from Java Island, and mainly from Jakarta. This resulted in not interviewing MPs from as many different geographical areas as I first intended. It also resulted in the participants being a rather homogenous group. This was something I tried overcoming by using multiple sources of data, for example via the written biographies, as information from women from different social and cultural contexts reveals a range of opinions, attitudes and strategies (Mikkelsen, 2005:172). However, there were still some issues finding information on some of the less well-known MPs. For example, it was only the famous MPs that had Wikipedia pages, and not that many of them that had a profile on Merdeka.com. Therefore, I have only retrieved very basic information on some of the MPs.

Only selecting women as participants can be seen as a limitation as men and women tend to have different experiences, and therefore different opinions. Mikkelsen (2015:172) argues that the classic mistake in research is to only interviewing men, however, only interviewing women will also pose biases in the research. I am aware of this issue; however, the purpose is to examine women's pathways into parliament. Therefore, male MPs are not included, as only female MPs can give first hand information about their pathways into parliament and they know more about their own pathways than male MPs.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This part of the thesis will present the analytical framework that is used in this thesis. Firstly, the concept of pathways will be examined, as this is the framework for the whole thesis; secondly, the different dimensions playing a role in women's access to parliament will be described to give a better understanding of different barriers and enablers that female MPs face in their pathways into parliament.

4.1 Pathways

Cornwall (2014:7) problematizes the metaphor of motorways, which she describes as “designed to transport large numbers of vehicles from A to B, flattening the terrain to increase the speed of travel”. A motorway is a fast track to a particular destination. She continues to argue that by examining “motorways” of mainstream development policies a lot is missed, and she introduces the metaphor of pathways, as a way to capture more than motorways. She describes pathways as evoking “trails made by people individually and collectively treading a route through vegetation”. The metaphor of a pathway captures both the sense of a route and something of the experience of the journey itself. The focus in the thesis are these journeys, to find out about women’s experiences as travellers and to learn, to pay closer attention to women’s experiences of travels along diverse pathways of access and what supported or hindered them as they made these journeys (Cornwall, 2014:1;6-7).

4.2 Dimensions

The analytical framework relies on a combined reading of Manon Tremblay (2007)⁶ and Shirin Rai (2012)⁷. There is a range of factors influencing women’s access to the political life and in her work on women’s access to politics, Tremblay (2007:535) groups these into three broad categories: cultural, socio-economic and political. Tremblay (2007) offers a good initial base with broad categories, which simplifies an analysis of women’s access to parliament. However, there are some parts missing from Tremblay’s analysis, which Rai (2012) has identified in her analysis of Indian female MPs’ access to parliament. Some of Rai’s factors are the same as Tremblay’s, such as participation in political parties etc. but Rai (2012) adds more specific, but still important, factors to this issue: family networks and participation in social movements. These are found missing in Tremblay’s (2007) analysis of women’s access to politics, but are deemed important when discussing women’s barriers and enablers in their pathways into parliament. Therefore, these two authors are read together, to get a more comprehensive understanding of women’s access to parliament in developing countries.

⁶ Manon Tremblay is Professor at the School of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa, Canada and in the center for Research on Women and Politics (Tremblay, 2007).

⁷ Shirin Rai is Professor in the department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, Great Britain. She has written extensively on issues of gender, governance and development. Her framework, used in this thesis, is based on extensive fieldwork in India with female MPs (Rai, 2012).

The following part is divided into the dimensions found most important and explanatory for women's access to parliament and will also be used in the analysis later on.

4.2.1 Cultural Factors

The category of cultural factors that Tremblay (2007:535) discusses refers to "values, standards, beliefs and attitudes that underpin a society and its institutions and which animate the population's ways of being, talking and doing". The primary cultural factors that determine the proportion of women in parliament identified by Tremblay are religion, education and views of gender based social roles. According to Tremblay (2007:535) other research have shown that culture, especially "a conception" of equality between women and men, has more influence than voting systems in women's access to politics and the proportion of women in parliament. The importance culture have can be explained by the fact that this factor is overlapping with socio-economic and political factors.

4.2.2 Socio-Economic Factors

The socio-economic factors affect women's access to politics as they, according to Tremblay (2007:535-536), "shapes the conditions that lead women to envision careers in politics". Variables considered within this category include what type of society it is (agricultural, industrial or post-industrial), Human Development Index, birth rates, proportion of women in labor market, urbanization rate, GNP, female/male income ratio, public expenditure on education and healthcare. According to Tremblay (2007:536), improvements in these conditions should favor an increase in women's presence in parliament as studies have shown that the number of women in parliament is positively influenced by socio-economic factors, such as women's participation in the labor market, high rank on the Human Development Index, post-industrial society and if the country is a developed welfare state.

4.2.3 Political Factors

This category is the most researched of the dimensions and political factors are seen as shaping the demands for candidates, influencing the selection and the election candidates. Tremblay (2007:536) divides these into two dimensions: political rights for women and the political regime. The political rights are largely straightforward; this dimension refers to the political citizenship of women and is mainly measured by the

year women obtained the right to vote in national legislative elections (Tremblay, 2007:536).

The political regime is more complex than the political rights, and refers to aspects such as the state structure (unitary or federal), the structure of parliament (uni- or bi-cameral, the number of seats, the maximum length of a legislature), the nature of the legislative career (the turnover rate of MPs), the party system (the number of parties contesting elections, the number of effective parliamentary parties, the ideologies of the parties that form the government, how candidates are selected and so on) and the electoral system itself (the type of voting system, the district magnitude, the nature of the lists: closed, open or flexible) (Tremblay, 2007:536), which could be categorized as legislative factors.

How these interfere with women's access to politics differ, for example a low turnover rate of MPs poses an hands on obstacle for women, many parties in the running offer more opportunities for women, parties leaning toward the left and center offer better possibilities for women to obtain seats in parliaments than parties leaning to the right, even more so if a party positioned to the left or center forms government. When it comes to the electoral system, parliaments elected by proportional representation show higher percentages of women than other systems. The voter system is also a factor here, for example high vote/seat proportionality fosters a high turnover rate of parliamentarians that, in turn, improves women's chances of being listed in eligible positions. Similarly, a threshold of representation set relatively high reduces the number of parties between which the seats in parliament are shared; each party thereby obtains more seats and can therefore assign some to women, whether to balance its representation or because the number of seats to be filled reaches further down the list to where female candidates often are placed. However, the opposite can also be argued, as a high-level threshold of representation is an obstacle for small parties, where women often are candidates. The size of the electoral districts also matters, as the more seats there are per electoral district, the higher are the chances of women obtaining parliamentary seats (Tremblay, 2007:536-537).

Parties also come under this category, and Tremblay (2007:537) argues that the parties are the “true masters of the parliamentary representation of women”, as parties control the selection process of candidates. Closed lists give parties almost full control over the composition of the parliament, as opposed to open lists where the voters also play a role in the selection and election. Rai (2012:206) also discusses the role of parties, and argues that being active in local party politics is an important route to the national parliament.

Another factor that can be categorized under legislative factors are quota systems. This is a trend that has spurred around the world in recent years and is much debated (See for example Dahlerup, 2005; Kang, 2013; Krook, 2013; Kudva & Misra, 2008; Rai, 2012; Tremblay, 2007). In one corner quota systems are seen as a “fast track” to gender equality, a way to reach higher number of women in parliament which would lead to a more democratic society and promotion of women’s interests. Quotas are not seen as discriminating against men but compensating for actual barriers that prevent women from accessing politics. In the other corner, quotas are criticized of being an artificial solution to women’s underrepresentation in politics, an undemocratic system that takes away the free choice of who should run the country, there is also a worry about bringing in women without proper skills to parliaments and MPs are elected on a gender basis rather than qualifications (Dahlerup, 2005:143-144; Krook, 2013:160-161; Rai, 2012:208). Rai (2012:208) found that some female MPs are afraid that male MPs would think less of them as “quota-candidates” and therefore question their ability. She also found that whenever the female MPs achieved their seats by merit, and not quota, the male MPs accepted them as one of them.

Kang (2013:95) argues that gender quotas can be a good way to bring more women into parliaments, however the effects of gender quotas are determined by different factors: the design of the quotas, national institutions and the agency of actors. The higher the quota’s minimum threshold is, the bigger the impact it has on the election of women. The agency of actors plays a role in the sense that actors construct the meaning that are given to quotas as reforms that either fulfill or undermine reigning definitions of equality, representation and gender (Kang, 2013:96). Tremblay (2007:537) also argues that if gender quotas should have a direct impact on the feminization of parliaments,

there need to be criteria. For example, quotas need to be mandatory and there has to be a penalty if the quota is not reached.

4.2.4 Family Networks

Families can give support in different ways, in Rai's (2012:200) research; some families gave support through using their political capital, others through helping with everyday housework or childcare, or through providing emotional support. She also concludes that husbands play a key role in supporting women, both materially and emotionally, also mother-in-laws seems to play a part in encouraging and validating the daughter-in-law's career in politics by providing practical support in looking after the household. Families also play an important role in supporting the female MPs through the process of campaigning, constituent work and absences from home during parliamentary sessions (Rai, 2012:202).

However, support from the family does not always compensate for the demands of women's marital roles. Some women have to negotiate their roles, have to join politics without challenging gendered hierarchies. It is difficult to negotiate demands or support of the families and in-laws. Rai (2012:201) concludes that this might be the reason some women decide not to marry, due to this pressure.

When it comes to families using their political capital, Rai (2012:200;206) found that a significant number of women access politics with the support, backing and contact of the family, usually of the father or husband, and that as a consequence the male members of family often influence them in their work. Some women also get recruited to the party only because of the reputation and positions of their fathers or husbands. The parties are also happy to accommodate this familial background in the selection due to the assumption that political families have recognition value that will help the woman candidate perform better in elections and as a MP.

However, accessing politics is not the same as sustaining that participation. Women from political families are better supported once they get elected. Families are socially differentiated and have different resources that they use in supporting their female member. An elite background can be important to become elected, while for others a

specific status, which has reserved seats, allows them to access parliament and for a third group it is their long service to the party (Rai, 2012:201-202).

4.2.5 Participation in Social Movements

Participation in social movements is also an important route into parliament (Rai, 2012:202). Social movements can provide a forum to build political skills and attract the attention of political parties through participative performance. Rai (2012:203) found that class and higher education has allowed some women to participate in student movements, and later party political movements. Within in these movements they have gotten the opportunities to develop skills important for parliamentarians, such as holding speeches, arguing etc. which have made them promising parliamentarians for the parties.

5. DISCUSSION

The discussion is divided into to two main sections: general barriers and enablers that are identified from the data. This discussion will highlight the subject of pathways, as these are formed by both barriers and enablers. As Cornwall (2014:7) describes, pathways are not straightforward or easy to follow. Therefore, many of the identified barriers and enablers intertwine, and can be difficult to separate. Furthermore, many of the MPs go through more than one of the enablers and barriers. Pathways capture both the sense of a route but also the experience of the journey itself, which I have aimed to capture in this thesis as well in order to explore women's access to parliament in depth, using quotes from female MPs to illustrate these experiences and routes.

5.1 Barriers

Women in Indonesia face different socio-cultural, economic and regional background issues (Seda, 2003:19). However, there are some obstacles that all women generally face during their pathways into parliament.

One issue being the patriarchal culture in Indonesia, in which women are primarily perceived as housewives rather than political actors, as described before, which limits the chance for women to become MPs. As women are not encouraged to take an active role within the parliament, many women also face obstacles to become MPs as they have to overcome discriminatory and gender-blind practices in the electoral process, in the

legislative bodies and in the political parties (Parawansa, 2005:86; Seda, 2003:20; Soetjipto, 2003:8; Usu, 2010:16).

According to traditional ideals, women should marry and have children before entering the parliament, and they are supposed to oversee the domestic duties are taken care of (Davies & Idrus, 2010:91). This leads to female MPs often having a triple role, the role of mother, housewife and as an MP. Seda (2003:20) highlights this issue from a group discussion with female MPs in Indonesia, and explains this as a significant constrain to women in the parliament as it limits the time women can allot to political activities. Parties do not recognize women's dual or triple roles, for example there are often important political decisions taken during marathon meetings held at night time, making it impossible for many women to attend due to responsibilities at home. "In order to successfully engage in the public arena, it seems women must be superwomen" (Davies & Idrus, 2010:91). Some statements found at the webpages pointed at this issue of women having multiple roles:

"Wardatul said that her choice of a career in politics is in accordance with the teachings of Islam, which opens wide opportunities for women to pursue a career as she wishes, however, it does not neglect the rights and obligations as a woman, mother and wife" (Wardatul, 2015).

"It is important that she does not forget her duties as mother and wife" (Melinda, 2015).

"[She] had to juggle around with family, and sometimes she is bringing her children to the parliament" (Bachsini, 2015).

This is something that many female MPs are dealing with; therefore family support can be crucial in order for the female MPs to be able to conduct their duties in the parliament, which will be further discussed below. Women who do enter the parliament can be perceived as neglecting their families (Davies & Idrus, 2010:91; Seda, 2003:20). This is, however, not the case as was discerned during the interviews. All of the interviewed MPs that had families talked about them at some point, they also had many

pictures of their families in their offices, one also had to leave early to take care of something for her child's birthday party.

Another area that is significant when discussing women's pathways into parliament is the power that the parties hold (Tremblay, 2007:537; Rai, 2012:206). Political parties in Indonesia have a huge role in terms of the candidate selection and how the party places women in potential election areas (Dhewy, 2014:133; Soeseno, 2014:15). Some parties, especially the senior members, in the Indonesian parliament tend to not support female MPs (Soetjipto, 2003:8). Instead political parties tend to nominate male candidates whom they believe have a greater potential to win (Seda, 2003:3). This was something one of the interviewed MPs experienced during her candidacy:

The party's elite did not expect me, [her name] who had nothing much to offer but courage, determination, commitment and a small saving to obtain a seat in the parliament. I did not have a political background. [---]. My struggle was not over yet [after winning a seat in the parliament], one and a half month after the General legislative election, the Election Commission declared the result, and another candidate who failed to win a seat from my own party accused me of manipulating the election. This losing [male] candidate was backed and supported by top figures within the party, who opposed me. They conspired to sue me and brought the dispute to the party's internal court, but I was not found guilty of any charge. The institution overseeing the local and the general election testified that there was no electoral fraud being committed by me. [---]. That was a really bad experience for me. It was traumatic for me, because it was a long journey and it was a difficult time for me. But now I feel grateful that the problem is gone. (MP2, 2015)

Another example of parties' power is that they can choose in what election area the candidates are placed, and if they are placed in an area where the party has little support or where the candidate is unknown, it is difficult to get elected (Dhewy, 2014:133). This was the experience of another of the interviewed MPs:

I joined my first election in 2009, I was placed in south part of Subang district [where she already had support], but then they [the party leaders] put me in the north area because the rule of the election changed [...]. We thought that we would get two seats in the north district, so the party hoped that I could win the second seat. But it was really difficult for me to win, as it was not my district. So I lost the election in the north district, but it is a

very different area because of the totally different culture. It is more hard and masculine because it is an industrial area and very different from the rural area. (MP4, 2015)

These two experiences show how female MPs can have a hard time getting support from their parties. However, during the interviews almost all of the MPs expressed that there are a lot of support within the parliament.

There is also the issue of money to run a campaign. All MPs, except one, talked about this during the interviews:

It is hard to win, [...] because in our democracy, new democracy, there are so many people that wants money, there is money politics. Se we [women] can maybe win over the men if we have money, because if we want something we must ask our husbands, but men are not asking their wives or families, and they go faster to and can an easier loan money. But women do not want that, they think of their families first, but also need money for the election. So it is very difficult to win over men. (MP5, 2015)

“It’s difficult to run for the election now, [in Indonesia], you need a lot of money now, huge money. Because money talks, here.” (MP1, 2015)

“I do not have much money to cover all the political costs, it is so high, we need to have the budget of about 5-8 billion [IDR⁸] to win the competition”. (MP2, 2015)

I do not have money, I am just a student, if I have money, it is only enough to pay my tuition. So, if you really want me to be election, you [the party leaders] have to support me. You have to support many great women. Then he said, yes I support you, so the party gave me things, like t-shirts to support me, because I do not have money, I do not have money at all. So finally I am here. (MP3, 2015)

“I enjoyed the campaign, I did not think too much about how I could get the money to fulfill my campaign’s needs, I just kept running, talk to everyone and sometimes I also asked for help, from media or my family, they also supported me” (MP4, 2015).

⁸ Five to eight billion IDR equals approximately 400 000 to 600 000 USD

The first quote, by MP5, points at something interesting when it comes to gender divisions, namely how women have it more difficult than male MPs to get money for the campaign, mainly due to the fact that women think about their families' welfare in the first hand. Tremblay (2007:535) also discusses this, that culture is an important factor when it comes to women's access to parliament, especially gender roles and the conception of equality between men and women. As seen before, according to culture, women should think of their families in first hand (UNDP, 2010:23), which in this case can hinder women from succeeding in raising enough money for their campaigns, and thereby having difficulty winning seats in the parliament.

5.2 Enablers

The female candidates in the 2014 election had diverse backgrounds, however, there were some groups bigger than others, such as candidates with familial connections to elitists or political party leaders (Dhewy, 2014:147). When analyzing the material on female MPs, five big groups were identified, one of them being family networks, and the other four: celebrities, businesswomen, activism or political affiliation and gender quotas. These categories are treated as enablers and were found in the written and oral biographies and could be backed by the secondary literature used in the thesis. Out of the 97 current female MPs in the parliament 9% are celebrities (actresses, models, TV-profiles, singers, sport stars etc.); 36% comes from a business background; 2% comes from an NGO or activist background and 18% are party cadres; and 34% of the current female MPs are related to party officials, state officials or ex-officials, royalty, regents or important businesspeople (see Appendix G).

5.2.1 Celebrities

Having celebrity legislative candidates was a trend in the 2014 election; nine out of twelve political parties had celebrity candidates, which served as a way for parties to attract more voters. Celebrity candidates attracted a lot of media attention, even if they only constituted a small portion of all candidates with 21 female celebrity candidates, nine of them winning a seat in the parliament. The chairman of one party stated that they had been struggling to get media attention, but the recruitment of celebrities was part of a strategy to attract public and media attention, even if the news were negative, they still got attention (Soeseno, 2014:13-15).

The theoretical framework used in this thesis does not bring up this phenomenon, although fame is seen as an enabler to join parliament due to the trend of recruiting celebrities to the parties. According to Dhewy (2014:137) this is considered a shortcut as the political parties choose these candidates due to the fact that they already have popularity and money. She continues to argue that elections in Indonesia depend on marketing products rather than promoting the programs and vision, “[...] Indonesian democracy, especially electoral democracy, is no different to Indonesian Idol.” (Dhewy, 2014:137).

One of the MPs interviewed spoke of her route into parliament:

Since I finished my study in psychology and I was finished with my career as a model [...], I got many invites to hold lectures about personal development, especially from women communities. I am also quite familiar in Jakarta, in Indonesia, and in 2008, the head of one of the parties here, the Islamic Party, asked me to join the party because of the election act that the party should nominate 30% ladies to be legislators. The party talked about my future career here, he [head of party] said that as a lecturer few participants will hear my lectures, the impact is only in that room, but as a legislator I will make the acts, the bills, so the impact could be nationwide, and I thought, well, that is good. (MP6, 2015)

This phenomena could be a good way for women to enter politics, for example, political scientist John Street sees the presence of celebrity MPs as a positive thing, however, he questions the possibility of celebrities to use their reputation and fame to make a difference (Soeseno, 2014:14).

5.2.2 Businesswomen

Most of the female candidates were businesswomen (Dhewy, 2014:135), which also applies to the elected MPs, as 35 of the female MPs have a business background, which constitute 36% of the total number of female MPs, making them the biggest group. Businesspeople have a high status in the Indonesian society, especially on the manager level. This can be explained by the fact that the Indonesian society is highly hierarchical and business managers are often drawn from a small group in society: high-school and university graduates, the upper ranks of the military, Chinese business families and the aristocratic class of the Javanese and some other influential ethnic groups that constitute

the Indonesian elite. This group is already privileged, facilitating their access to higher education and money (Wright & Crockett, 1993:24).

Two of the MPs interviewed have been part of the business world before they became MPs, and both got a foot into the parliament via their work. MP5 told me about her way into parliament:

Before I was in the parliament, I was an entrepreneur [...] both me and my husband like travelling, and my husband also is a teacher for a Muslim group, so we started a travel agency, for Hadj and to Saudi Arabia. After a while my travel agency became larger and the year of 2000 was important as our travel agency became formally for Hadj travels, and we made a trip for members of the government. In 2000, Mr. SBY, our [former] president, in 2000 he was not president yet, he was a minister, he joined a Hadj trip with our travel agency. So we met and then we became friends, we [her husband and her] always got invitations to his house and to meet his family, and we invited them. And after he became president in 2004, one of my friends in the parliament asked me to join the Democratic Party, because I knew Mr. SBY. So I accepted the invitation to join the Democratic Party. That is the first time I joined the party, before I never wanted to join any party, but maybe it is God's will, so I joined. In 2005 I joined the party and became the vice secretary general of the Democratic Party. And after that, 2006, Mr. SBY himself asked me to join the advice board in the party. (MP5, 2015)

There is also a lot of money needed to run for election as discussed before, and women with jobs probably have it easier to run for election as they make their own money. The MPs interviewed which were not businesswomen, but students or working for NGOs had a hard time making money for the campaign. This is one main reasons, why businesswomen are such a big group in the parliament, a lot of money is needed, even before starting campaigning candidates might need to pay parties a lot of money in order to be nominated (Buehler, 2013).

Wright and Crockett (1993:26-27) discuss the differences in labor force participation between the middle- and the upper class in Indonesia. They argue that middle-class women typically have a high school education and often remain in the formal labor force until they get married, when they often become housewives. While upper class women tend to be more likely to have paid employment civil service or family businesses. They

also tend to remain in the formal labor force after marriage, with a break when they have children. One part of the explanation is higher education, but also the competitive advantage in seeking white-collar jobs afforded elite women by virtue of the position in the power structure. There are also geographically and cultural differences, as more women from West Java, Jakarta and outer islands in Indonesia tend to work outside their homes than women from central and east Java. This can also be seen in the data; almost 30% of the current female MPs are from West Java, Jakarta and the outer islands.

Tremblay (2007:535-536) argues that a higher participation of women in the labor force positively influences women's participation in politics. This socio-economic factor is connected to the cultural, as different cultures in Indonesia affect women differently. When cultural gender-based roles state women should focus their work at home, it is less likely that they will envision a career in politics, and run for election. However, the theoretical framework in this thesis does not debate the power of status, and how this affects women's pathways into parliament, even if it is found to be one of the biggest enablers for women in Indonesia to gain access to the national parliament.

5.2.3 Activism and Party Affiliation

Participation in social movements and being part of a party, party cadres and/or local political party is an important route to national parliament (Rai, 2012:202;206). In the current parliament 59% of the female MPs have started their first term, 2014, 18% are party cadres and 11% have no other work experience than within politics.

Cultural norms in Indonesia are deep-rooted and many Indonesian women have adopted these so they are psychologically unprepared for getting into politics. For example many women have developed a sense of inferiority and believe that they do not have what it takes or the proper skills to become a politician. Therefore, women often have a passive approach to politics, and many perceive politics as something negative and "dirty", preventing women from developing and identifying strategies for themselves (Seda, 2003:20; Tremblay, 2007:535-536). This can be overcome by participation in social movements, as social movements often can provide a place where political skills are built, it is also often a place that attract attention of political parties through participative performance (Rai, 2010:202). Such as MP4 did:

I decided to run for election because I should do something about this situation [women's issues], not just waiting and then continuously be part of the problem. [...] It was really difficult for me because I did not know about politics, but I learned a lot about political power and about government, about state. I did not know about the institutions or organization, how to attend etc. So I changed, and applied for working as a parliamentary expert staff [instead of joining the election as an MP] in the province of East Java, and then I actively joined the PDI-P party activities in West Java. I started at the guarder, it means that I did not know so much about the organization, the party itself, but I learned about the platform and then I attended some training for the party. (MP4, 2015)

Being involved in social movements has also shown to be a pathway in the sense that it can inspire to make a difference via joining the parliament:

My background is not in politics, my background is as an activist and within academics. I never planned to become a politician. Before I did my regular activities, I worked for some NGOs, local, national and international. [---]. When I was a consultant [...] a program that gave capacity building for female MPs I met many female MPs, and at that time I realized I had to get involved. Because, their capacity was making me very sad, and not one of them had an email address [...]. Once, I met a younger parliamentarian in west Lombok, she was 27 years old and 24 when she was first elected. I talked to her, and she said that she was elected because no other women in her party wanted to run for parliament [...]. And I asked her in what commission she was in, and she said that she was in the budgeting. I was shocked, I cannot imagine how she can deal with other members to struggle for women's needs when she is so shy talking to me, I think I was so disappointed of that so I joined the election. (MP3, 2015)

According to Rai (2012:203) class and higher education have allowed some women to participate in student movements, and then parliamentary politics. These movements also give opportunities to develop skills, which are important for MPs, such as holding speeches, arguing etc. One woman who learned a lot through the student movement HMI, Muslim Students' Association, is MP1 who told me her story about her time within the student movement:

This fight [for women's issues] started a long, long time ago, when I was in HMI, I was the deputy residence for the international affairs, this was in 1990, during the general assembly of WAMY, it is the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, in Kuala Lumpur. I came there as a participant, but the WAMY executive member refused me to be a participant because I am a woman, [---], but my friend, then president of a Muslim group, who knows

me very well convinced the committee to let me participate, then I got a place as an observer instead of participant. During the meeting, I was in the very back and hundreds of participants from all over the world was there. And I raised my hand to ask for permission to speak, and all of them were surprised. Everyone turned around to see me and I told them that it is very important to invite women in this organization. I told them this is important within Islam [---], and I said: if you do not educate women, if you do not guarantee their health, the next generation will suffer. I got applauses at the time. This was a wow-moment for me, and I was in tears. (MP1, 2015)

MP5, that also is a businesswoman, got support from her husband, but it is via the organizations she says she might have won the 2014 election:

When I was in high school, I liked to join different organizations, all kinds of organizations. And after I married I asked my husband if I could join many organizations: women's organizations, entrepreneur organizations, travel organizations, many organizations. Maybe that is why I have many friends, especially in Jakarta, and maybe because I am born in Jakarta, I live in Jakarta, I started my company in Jakarta, and all organizations are in Jakarta. Maybe that is why I won the second election [2014]. (MP5, 2015)

Joining organizations, NGOs or being an activist can be an important route into parliament. Even if many of the current MPs have no, or little, previous political knowledge, most of them have been in different organizations and served as chairwomen. Depending on the organization, women can still learn important skills needed as legislators (Rai, 2012:202).

5.2.4 Family Networks

Families can give support in different ways, through using their political capital, helping with everyday housework or childcare, or through providing emotional support (Rai, 2012:200). Family support is important in many different ways. This was evident from the interviews, all of them stated that family and/or friends were the best and most important support, without support from them they could not run. Husbands and fathers were mostly mentioned.

During the interviews all, except one of the MPs talked about how families were their biggest and most important support when running for DPR and being a legislator. MP1 stated:

My husband has been very supportive of me and my career, also my father and family has been very supportive. Female MPs cannot be MPs if not, especially, their husbands or fathers are supportive. Most of my friends that are MPs are single parents, or has been single all life. I am very lucky. I have a very wonderful and supportive family. This is the key factor for my success. (MP1, 2015)

This shows what Rai (2012:200) are talking about when saying that emotional support and childcare. Also, Rai is discussing that husbands play a key role in supporting women, which is evident in MP1's statement. Emotional support and support that is more practical from families seems to be very important:

[...] my family, my husband was very supporting, my children were supporting and also the structure of the party in that area was very supportive of me. It was a hard story for me, but I had great support from my family and my husband and children. Indonesia has a history to not support women in leadership roles. (MP2, 2015)

“My father supported me to make sure that all teams worked well, my brother supported me and distributed t-shirts etc. And my other brother supported me to make management of the budget” (MP3, 2015).

“Many friends helped me, family helped me, my mum, my aunt, my uncle, my sisters, so I won [the election] and now I am here, in a different, challenging condition. I face different challenges in this building [the parliament building]” (MP4, 2015).

Families can also give another kind of support, by using their political networks; this is especially relevant in political families. Going through family networks is a rather common way to access the parliament, usually through the father or husband (Rai, 2012:200; 206). It is a pathway to parliament, for women to reach strategic positions via men (Dhewy, 2014:137). In the current parliament, 34% of the female MPs are related to party officials, state officials or ex-officials, royalty, regents or important businesspeople (all male), the majority of them went through their husbands. The data sampled on the female MPs showed that many of them with familial networks have themselves or their partner been alleged for corruption. In some interviews the familial relationship became evident:

“First of all, I have no background in politics. My husband is the chairman of the [name of the party] party and gave me the opportunity to me to participant, lucky me I got it” (MP2, 2015).

However, there is also another opinion about using family networks to join the parliament:

In 2004, when I just graduated from my bachelor, I got a proposal from one of the parties, but I decided to refuse because, at the time I was 24 years old and I had just graduated from a bachelor, and I wondered what I could do [as an MP] with very limited experience and knowledge. [...] if I wanted to run for parliament at the regional level I think I would be elected. I was sure, because my family owns the Islamic boarding school in my region, it is the oldest and the biggest Islamic boarding schools. [...] But, this was a very difficult situation for me. Could you imagine if people introduced me: “Please vote for [her name], she is the granddaughter of [name of grandfather], the religious leader”. I am sure the people would vote for me, but if other would people ask: “Please, describe her capabilities, her skills, her knowledge [...]”. People would not be able answer and it would be very humiliating for me. So, and I though I really wanted people to vote for me, not because of my family. I cannot affect my family’s status, but I want people to vote for me, for my abilities, my skills, and my knowledge. (MP3, 2015)

In Indonesia, there is a tendency to select female candidates who have a close connection with men in power (Rai, 2012:202; Seda, 2003:3). The phenomena of elected MPs having familial relationships with political party leaders of elitists have been heavily criticized in Indonesian media. It was seen as an easy and uncontrollable way of becoming a legislator, but also a sign of corruption and hindering fair competition. This discussion damaged the trust of the elected women (Soeseno, 2014:16). According to Dhewy (2014:137) this is a sign of members of political parties not having proper political education, as they randomly recruit wives, daughters, nieces or siblings.

This often starts at local or regional levels, where elite families work their way up and get elected at the local/regional level, then they work hard for other family members to win seats on the local parliament, and also in the national parliament to expand their family’s political power. One example is the Limpo family from South Sulawesi, whose family members have served as local politicians, city mayors and in national parliament (Buehler, 2013). Two of the female MPs, Indira Chunda Thita Syahrul and Dewie Yasin

Limpo are members of this family, and are sitting in the national parliament with a few of their male family members as well.

One important factor that explains this is heritage. Heritage in Indonesia is very important, and the Limpo family has roots in their province that reach deep into the New Order period. The Limpo family has many members of the Golkar party, which also was former president Suharto's party (Buehler, 2013). This can be seen with many of the female MPs from the Golkar party as many of them have strong ties to the party within their families. There are also relatives to Suharto in the parliament, such as his daughter, Siti Hediati Soeharto. During the New Order era, some families got a lot of local/provincial power and great wealth, especially families within the military, aristocrats or royal families, such as the Limpo family. The wealth also come in as a factor here, it is expensive to run for election, as well as you might have to pay to be nominated (Buehler, 2007; 2013). These families' power and wealth is directly translated to both local and national parliament, as can be seen in Appendix G. Despite the circumstances, family networks and family support are one of the major enablers within women's pathways into the Indonesian national parliament.

The two kinds of family support, networks and emotional, also goes together, as a woman MP from a political family not only often have it easier going into politics, but also can get a suitable support from her family as they know what she is going through and the know the way around politics (Rai, 2012:202).

5.2.5 Quota

Another enabler for women to access parliament is quota systems; it can be an effective way for women to become MPs (Dahlerup, 2005:143-144; Kang, 2013:95; Krook, 2013:160-161; Rai, 2012:208). However, the quota system in Indonesia is not designed very well, which leads to it not being too effective (Davies & Idrus, 2010:93; Kang, 2013:95). The quota is only for nominating female candidates, but they are still unlikely to win compared to male candidates (Davies & Idrus, 2010:92). As seen in the 2014 election, 37% women were candidates in the election, but 17% of them became MPs in the national parliament (Dhewy, 2014:134).

The quota system has no sanctions if the parties do not fulfill them (Davies & Idrus, 2010:93; Usu, 2010:15). Tremblay (2007:537) and Usu (2010:16) argue that this is necessary if gender quotas should have a direct impact. Even if the quota system now is compulsory for all parties in the parliament the sanctions are very weak. If a party does not fulfill the quota requirements the parties are asked to submit a written motivation and place women candidates in winnable positions, followed by an announcement in the media (Usu, 2010:15; Davies & Idrus, 2010:93).

Quotas can also be seen as artificial and not leading to substantive representation of women (Dahlerup, 2005:143-144; Krook, 2013:160-161; Rai, 2012:208). There has been discussions about the Indonesian gender quota in the parliament and that it has led to parties filling the quota with wives, daughters or other female relatives and celebrities, such as actresses, models, singers etc. who usually do not have much experience in politics (Soeseno, 2014:5; Dhewy, 2014:137). There was a lack of party-cadres as candidates, and due to media exposure, parties often quickly recruited women in order to meet the quota and not get scrutinized by media (Davies & Idrus, 2010:93). Women who were seen as only being nominated because they are women, to fulfill the quota, were called *caleg cabutan* or *caleg tidur*, translating to unselected or sleeping candidates (Soeseno, 2014:6;12). Another phrase coined for some of the candidates, such as celebrities is *caleg cantik*, which translates to beautiful legislative candidates (Kwok, 2014).

Many feared that this would have an impact on the quality of women MPs (Soeseno, 2014:6). In the current parliament 48% of the female MPs have no prior political experience before they became MPs in 2014, many of them falling under the categories of celebrities, businesswomen and women with familial connections to elitists. MP1, was one of the front figures in the fight for the parliamentary gender quota, however, she expressed some disappointment with this and the last period:

I will run again for the 2019 election, because I want to come back to the parliament, to open the door for CSOs, women activists and male activists to work together inside the parliament and to advocate [for women's rights]. The last period, they closed the door. It is very exclusive, and they do not want to speak up about what they are doing to the people, so it is bad. (MP1, 2015)

She continued to say:

Almost 15 women alleged of corruption, so it kind of backfired on our struggle [to implement the quota system]. They [male politicians] said, “See, more women in the parliament leads to more corrupt women”. We were very unlucky, and even if the number of male MPs that are corrupt is higher, but when women do that, it becomes big news, the media is discriminating. [---] And one of the secretary general of a party told us that we do not need more women in the parliament, ‘during your period [2004-2009], there was only 68 women, but they spoke up, they were very strong women, but now [2009-2014 period] the [97] women they do not speak, we do not need women in number, we need women in quality’. I told him ‘there are about 450 male MPs, and more than 300 of them do not speak up, they do not do anything, how about these men? [---] and the number of corrupt male [MPs] is higher. [...] what do you think about that? You mean that male can corrupt but no female?’”
(MP1, 2015)

This points to a cultural issue (Tremblay, 2007:535), where women are seen as softer and if some of them make mistakes or being corrupt it becomes a big issue, even if the male MPs makes the same mistakes. This perception of women could be seen in the data gathered from the webpages. One MP was described as “the ideal female Java figure because of her politeness and gentleness” (Fauziyah, 2015). Many of the female MPs were also described as being good and not causing problems in the parliament as they are polite and does not question the senior members.

One thing that is important to bring up is that there are suitable female candidates in Indonesia but that in many instances political parties support a less suitable male candidate over a more qualified woman (Davies & Idrus, 2010:93). The quota system has led to more women in the Indonesian national parliament, as seen in table 2, female MPs rose from 9% to 11% between 1999 and 2004, and up to 18% in the 2009 election. The first electoral quota was adopted before the 2004 election, and then there was a revised version before the 2009 election (Moita & Agustand, 2014:158; Ratnawati, 2009:174; Rhoads, 2012:36; UNDP, 2010:4; Usu, 2010:2;8-9). However, for the 2014 election the number of female MPs dropped to 17.4%. It is difficult to know if it is the quota system that resulted in a higher number of women, but there has been a shift, where more women are part of the national parliament.

6. CONCLUSION

Women in Indonesia face many barriers in their way into national parliament, however, there are also many enablers for women to reach national parliament. The identified enablers and barriers combine in different pathways for women to enter parliament. In the current parliament, the majority of the female candidates are businesswomen and/or having a familial connection to party leaders or elitists. This can be explained by status, something that the theoretical framework does not explain. Both businesswomen and political elite families stem from status, which is also the case of celebrity MPs. Status and hierarchy is important in the Indonesian culture, and status often come with money, which is crucial to becoming an MP. It is expensive to run for election; many times the candidate also has to pay the party to be nominated in the first place. Activism, political affiliation, organizational work and gender quotas are also important. Activism and political affiliation might be seen as leading to more experienced female MPs, while family networks and celebrities are seen as a consequence of the quota system, and resulting in less experienced MPs. Once women enter parliament, the struggle is far from over, they enter a male domain, and therefore, women have to be prepared for what is coming and how to overcome barriers within the parliament.

Pathways are winding, difficult, and go up and down and incorporate many different aspects, the route itself and the experiences along the way. The experiences of female MPs pathways into parliament are very different, and it is difficult to generalize pathways, as all of them are unique. However, as shown, there are some pathways, which are more travelled than others, but at some point many of them cross each other, and some women might walk on more than one, or change path on the way.

6.1 Future Research

As status was missing in the theoretical framework, this is something that could be further researched as it contributes to theory building, both in local and national parliament and levels, as these seem to be very intertwined, especially when it comes to elite families.

Another area to further research is how female MPs can make a difference when in the parliament. Is it the number of women that matters? as critical mass theory argues, or is there more to it? What are the barriers and enablers within the parliament for female

MPs? This would be interesting to further research, as there is not much information on this in Indonesia. It would also be fruitful to research this in both national and local parliaments, and conduct a comparison between different regions and national level, as culture differs significantly between the regions in Indonesia.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Cabinet of Indonesia (2014-2019)

Post	Name	Sex
President	Joko Widodo	Male
Vice President	Jusuf Kalla	Male
Ministries		
Political, Legal and Security Affairs	Tedjo Edy Purdjianto	Male
Economy	Sofyan Djalil	Male
Human Development and Culture	Puan Maharani	Female
State Secretary	Pratikno	Male
Home Affairs	Tjahjo Kumolo	Male
Foreign Affairs	Retno Lestari Priansari Marsudi	Female
Defense	Ryamizard Ryacudu	Male
Justice and Human Rights	Yasonna H. Laoly	Male
Finance	Bambang Brodjonegoro	Male
Energy and Mineral Resources	Sudirman Said	Male
Industry	Saleh Husin	Male
Trade	Rhamat Gobel	Male
Agriculture	Amran Sulaiman	Male
Forestry and Environment	Siti Nurbaya	Female
Transportation	Ignatius Jonan	Male
Fishery and Maritime	Susi Pudjiastuti	Female
Manpower and Transmigration	Hanif Dhakiri	Male
Maritime Affairs	Indroyono Soesilo	Male
Health	Nila F. Moeloek	Female
Education and Culture	Anies Baswedan	Male
Social Affairs	Khofifah Indar Parawansa	Female
Religious Affairs	Lukman Hakim Saifuddin	Male
Tourism	Arief Yahaya	Male
Communication and Information	Rudinatara	Male
Research and Technology	M. Nasir	Male

Cooperatives and Small & Medium Enterprises	Anak Agung Gede Ngurah Puspayoga	Male
Land & Spacial Planning	Ferry Mursuidan Baldan	Male
Woman Empowerment & Children Protection	Yohana S. Yambise	Female
State Administrative Reform	Yuddy Chrisnandi	Male
Development of Disadvantaged Regions	Marwan Jafar	Male
National Development Planning	Andrinof Chaniago	Male
State-Owned Enterprises	Rini M. Soermarno	Female
Public Works & Housing	Basuki Hadimuljono	Male
Youth and Sports Affairs	Imam Nahrawi	Male

Source: VDSI, 2015c

Appendix B: Overview of the Commissions

Commission	Area of Work	Number of women	Number of men
Commission I	Defense, Foreign Affairs and Information	7	43
Commission II	Domestic Governance, Regional Autonomy, State Apparatus and Agrarian Affairs	4	45
Commission III	Legal Affairs and Laws, Human Rights and Security	7	48
Commission IV	Agriculture, Plantations, Maritime Affairs, Fisheries and Food	8	44
Commission V	Transport, Telecommunications, Public Works, Public Housing, Village Development and Disadvantaged Area	10	43
Commission VI	Trade, Industry, Investment, Cooperatives, Small and Medium Businesses and State-Owned Companies	8	39
Commission VII	Energy, Natural Mineral Resources, Research and Technology, the Environment	6	41
Commission VIII	Religion, Social Affairs, the Empowerment of Women	9	37
Commission IX	Demographic Affairs, Health, Manpower and Transmigration	18	34
Commission X	Education, Youth Affairs, Sports, Tourism, Art and Culture	14	39
Commission XI	Finances, National Development Planning, Banking and Non-bank Financial Institutions	6	41

Source: WikiDPR (2015)

Appendix C: List of Webpages

Webpage	Responsible	Number of Female MPs With Profile	Author/s	Purpose	Site
InfoCaleg	InfoCaleg, org.	91	InfoCaleg team	More information about the candidates and use as a way to interact with the candidates	http://infocaleg.org
WikiDPR	WikiDPR, org.	94	Volunteers, who have to apply	Public initiative to reach more transparency, via more information about MPs	http://wikidpr.org
Merdeka	Merdeka, technology/media company	61	Editorial staff	Information without limitations or restrictions	http://www.merdeka.com

Webpage	Number of female MPs with profile
Wikipedia	29
Own website	21

Appendix D: Current Female MPs

MP	Party	Age	Civil status	Children	Religion	From	Comm-ission	Period	Political/Organiz-ational work	Highest Education	Profession	Other
Irma Suryani	Nasdem	50	Married	2	Unknown	South Sumatra	IX	1	Women's group, within Nasdem	BA Economy	Director at Indonesia Port Corporations	-
Amelia Anggraini	Nasdem	44	Married	4	Christian	Middle Java	IX	1	Acting secretary General of Nasdem	High School	Sales and advertising	Married to chairman of party
Yayuk Sri Rahayuningsih	Nasdem	57	Married	2	Unknown	East Java	III	1	Local Politician, secretary and chairman for Golkar from 1992	PhD in Law	Dentist	-
Tri Murny	Nasdem	66	Married	3	Unknown	East Java	VIII	1	Head of Public Relations Division in party	BA	Within party	-
Chusnunia Chalim	PKB	33	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Java	X	1	Office Manager in PKB	BA	Within politics	-
Neng Eem Marhamah Zulfa Hiz	PKB	36	Married	2	Islam	West Java	IX	1	Head of Women's Empowerment group within party	BA	Journalist	-
Siti Mukaromah	PKB	43	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	VI	1	Local Politician, secretary and Chairman for Golkar	BA	Local politician, expert staff in Parliament	-
Arzetty Bilbina Setyawan	PKB	41	Married	3	Islam	South Sumatra	VIII	1	No	BA	Model, artist, presenter, actress	-
Nihayatul Wafiroh	PKB	36	Married	2	Islam	East Java	IX	1	Activist	MA (doing PhD)	Academic	-
Lathifah Shohib	PKB	56	Married	3	Unknown	East Java	X	1	No	Unknown	Unknown	-
Ida Fauziah	PKB	45	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	East Java	I	4	Chairman positions, founder of Caucus	MA Governance Studies	Within politics	-

Anna Mu'awanah	PKB	47	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	East Java	XI	1	No	MA Business Law	Business woman	-
Siti Masrifah	PKB	48	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	IX	1	No	MA	Unknown	-
Rohani Vanath	PKB	45	Married	Unknown	Islam	Maluku	III	1	No	High School	Unknown	-
Dewie Yasin Limpo	PKB	56	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	South Sulawesi	VII	1	Within different parties, different chairman positions	BA	Business woman, director	-
Peggi Patrisia Pattipi	PKB	50	Married	Unknown	Islam	Papua	IV	2	No	BA Management	Politician	-
Ledia Hanifa Amaliah	PKS	46	Married	3	Islam	East Java	VIII	2	Caucus work	MA Psychology	Within Party	Joined party 1998
Elva Hartati	PDI-P	55	Married	3	Islam	South Sumatra	IX	2	Within DPD	MA	Health	-
Isma Yatun	PDI-P	50	Unknown	2	Islam	South Sumatra	X	3	Political cadre	MA Chemical Engineering	Bank woman	-
Itet Tridjajati Sumarijant o	PDI-P	69	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	South Sumatra	VIII	2	Chairman of student union, different chairman positions	MA Business Administration	Chief of Medical Record	-
Dwi Ria Latifa	PDI-P	49	Unknown	1	Islam	Riau	III	2	Party member	MA National Security Studies	Assistant attorney	-
Wiryanti Sukamdani	PDI-P	61	Married	1	Islam	East Java	X	2	Head of Women's group within party	BA Economics	Family Business	-
Diah Pitaloka	PDI-P	38	Single	0	Islam	West Java	II	1	Member of IR Department within party	BA Journalism	NGOs	Activist
Ribka Tjiptaning	PDI-P	56	Unknown	Unknown	Christian	West Java	IX	3	Political Cadre	BA Medicine	Doctor	Activist
Risa Mariska	PDI-P	36	Unknown	2	Unknown	West Java	III	1	Active in organizations since college	BA Law	Lawyer	-

Rieke Diah Pitaloka	PDI-P	41	Married	3	Islam	West Java	IX	2	Secretary general for PKB, then changed to PDI-P, head of Women's group within party	MA Philosophy	Actress, author, artist	Was on the list to become minister of social affairs
Puti Guntur Soekarno	PDI-P	44	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	X	2	Different chairman positions	BA Administration	Chairman and party work	Granddaughter of first president Soekarno.
Evita Nursanty	PDI-P	55	Married	3	Islam	Middle Java	I	2	Chairman of different companies	High School	Business woman, director	-
Agustina Wilujeng Pramestuti	PDI-P	44	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Middle Java	IV	1	Student movement, party cadre	BA English Literature	Within party, local MP	-
Damayanti Wisnu Putranti	PDI-P	45	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Java	V	1	Party cadre, in presidential campaign team	MAx2 Law	Within party	Head of department of Agriculture and Fisheries, her father died and she replaced him
My Esti Wijayati	PDI-P	47	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Middle Java	X	1	Vice chairman of political affairs, within party	BA	Local politician	-
Indah Kurnia	PDI-P	53	Married	3	Unknown	East Java	XI	2	Vice chairman of group within PDI-P	MA	Football player, Branch Manager of Bank	-
Sadarestuwati	PDI-P	45	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	East Java	V	1	Different chairman positions	BA Agriculture	Within party, chairman	Sister to former regent

Karolin Margret Natasa	PDI-P	33	Unknown	Unknown	Christian	West Kalimantan	IX	2	MPR, chairman of different organizations and student associations	BA Medicine	Within politics	Daughter of Governor of West Kalimantan; most votes of all MPs in the 2014 election
Vanda Sarundajang	PDI-P	41	Unknown	Unknown	Christian	North Sulawesi	VI	2	Chairman	BA English Literature	Chairman	Daughter of Governor of North Sulawesi, political family
Mercy Chriesty Barends	PDI-P	43	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Maluku	VII	1	NGOs, vice chairman of Caucus Maluku	BA Mechanical Engineering	Lecturer	-
Irine Yusiana Roba Putri	PDI-P	31	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Middle Java	I	1	Member of Ministry of Youth and Sports within party	MA Communication and Media	Director and Producer	-
Meutya Viada Hafid	Golkar	37	Divorced	2	Islam	East Java	VI	2	Chairman of one commission and women's division	BA Engineering	News reporter/presenter and journalist	Did not win first period but replaced a male MP who past away
Delia Pratiwi BR. Sitepu	Golkar	27	Married	1	Islam	North Sumatra	V	1	Within DPD	BA Law	Business Woman	-
Betti Shadiq Pasadigoe	Golkar	53	Married	Unknown	Islam	West Sumatra	VI	1	Chairman of Family Welfare and Education division	MA Management	Business woman, Director	Worked within the party for a long time
Saniatul Lativa	Golkar	38	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	South Sumatra	VII	1	No	Diploma - Midwife	Midwife	-

Dwie Aroem Hadiatie	Golkar	35	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	South Sumatra	VI	1	Youth wing of Golkar Party	BA Public Relations	Business woman	Daughter of Golkar local leader, father in DPD
Popong Otje Djundjuna n	Golkar	76	Married	4	Islam	West Java	X	2	Within party	BA	English teacher	-
Dewi Asmara	Golkar	51	Unkown	3	Islam	West Java	IX	2	Golkar treasurer, different places within party	MA Law	Lawyer	Daughter of former Minister of Justice from New Order era
Wenny Haryanto	Golkar	56	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	III	1	Chairman and vice- chairman of Golkar different areas, such as legal affairs and human rights and women group	BAX2, Law & English literature	Business woman	-
Endang Maria Astuti	Golkar	49	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Java	I	1	Women activist	BA x2, Islamic studies & Law	Teacher	-
Endang Srikarti Handayani	Golkar	52	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Middle Java	VI	1	No	MA Law	Lawyer	Co-founder of Lawyer office
Siti Hediati Soeharto	Golkar	54	Divorced	1	Islam	Middle Java	IV	1	Charity work, chairman of Arts foundation and Archery association	BA Economy	Family Business	Daughter of Suharto, she is compared to the Cartier, Bulgari and Winston families
Eni Mulani	Golkar	45	Married	2	Islam	West Java	II	1	Treasurer	MA	Unknown	-

Saragih												
Agati Sulie Mahyudin	Golkar	48	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Kalimantan	II	1	No	BA	Unknown	-
Neni Moerniaeni	Golkar	55	Married	3	Islam	East Kalimantan	XI	1	Local parliamentarian, chairman	Diploma	General Practitioner, hospital	Married to former Major of her hometown
Andi Fauziah Pujiwatie Hatta	Golkar	35	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	South Sulawesi	IX	1	Vice Chairman	MA	Dentist	-
Enny Anggraeny Anwar	Golkar	56	Married	2	Islam	West Sulawesi	VII	1	Chairman	High School	Unknown	Married to governor of west Sulawesi, she was accused of corruption
Rita Zahara	Gerindra	44	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Riau	V	2	DPD, Chairman of democratic women Riau	BA	Unknown	Accused of corruption
Sri Meliyana	Gerindra	54	Married	Unknown	Islam	South Sumatra	X	1	No	BA Chemical Engineering	Director	Listed as nr 9 in candidate list, but got many votes so she won a seat; Married to Chairman of party
Susi Marleny Bachsin	Gerindra	55	Married	Unknown	Islam	West Java	IX	1	Within DPD	MA Management	Unknown	-
Dwita Ria Gunadi	Gerindra	52	Married	Unknown	Islam	South Sumatra	X	1	Local parliament, founder and chairman of Wife	-	Unknown	Replaced her husband

									Unity Faction Gerindra			
Rachel Mariam Sayidina	Gerindra	35	Re- married	1	Islam	West Java	I	2	Within party	High School	Actress and Model	Entered politics in 2001
Putih Sari	Gerindra	30	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	IX	2	Treasurer in party, and member of women's group	MA	Unknown	Daughter of senior leader of PDI-P
Sri Wulan	Gerindra	38	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Java	IV	1	No	BA	Unknown	-
Rahayu Saraswati Dhirakarya Djojohadik usumo	Gerindra	29	Married	0	Unknown	West Java	VIII	1	Youth wing within party, vice chairman of religious affairs	BAX2, Classics and drama & Screen Acting	Actress	From elite family; granddaugh ter of the presidential runner up in the 2014 election
Novita Wijayanti	Gerindra	36	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Middle Java	V	1	Local politics, Chairman of National Youth committee, student movement	MA Economics (doing her PhD)	Unknown	Activist; accused of corruption
Katherine Anggela Oendoen	Gerindra	55	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	West Kaliman-tan	VII	1	No	Dental School	Business woman	-
Andi Ruskati Ali Baal	Gerindra	47	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Sulawesi	VIII	1	Within DPD	MA Management	Business woman	-
Mukhniart y	Demokrat	55	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Riau	III	1	Provincial parliament	MA	Business woman, director	Wife of important businessma n, replaced a male MP who past away
Dwi Astuti	Demokrat	34	Married	2	Unknown	West Java	VIII	2	Organization:	BA	Marketing	Daughter of

Wulandari									Jakarta Wives			former chairman of a party
Melani Leimena Suharli	Demokrat	61	Married	3	Islam	West Java	VI	2	Within MPR	High School	Business woman	-
Linda Megawati	Demokrat	36	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	VIII	2	Different chairman positions	BA	Unknown	-
Siti Mufattahah	Demokrat	39	Re-married	2	Islam	West Java	IX	2	Different chairman positions	MA Management	Lecturer, chairman of department of psychology	Known for being together with a married man, and becoming pregnant without being married
Evi Zainal Abidin	Demokrat	39	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	East Java	XI	2	Chairman within party	BA	Manager of Livestock Farmers cooperative	Reported to cheat in election
Nurhayati Ali Assegaf	Demokrat	51	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	East Java	I	3	Activist, Chairman of party	PhD in Social and Political Studies	Business woman, director	Known for her bold public statements and actions in parliament; founder of many organizations and think tanks dealing women's issues

Venna Melinda	Demokrat	42	Divorced	2	Islam	East Java	X	2	No	BA Economics	Model, actress, former miss Indonesia	She was not active enough in meetings in commission I, so she had to change commission
Vivi Sumantri Jayabaya	Demokrat	28	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	IV	1	No	MA	Unknown	-
Erma Suryani Ranik	Demokrat	39	Unknown	Unknown	Christian	West Kalimantan	III	1	DPD, vice-chairman of maritime affairs and fisheries; different NGOs	BA Law	Director and Producer; journalist	"At school, she begun to show her talent and abilities as a leader"; simple background
Norbaiti Isran Noor	Demokrat	46	Married	Unknown	Muslim	East Kalimantan	VII	2	Been in different NGOs	BA	Active in NGOs, assisted her husband	Wife of East Kutai regent
Verna Gladies Merry Inkiriwang	Demokrat	31	Married	0	Christian	Middle Sulawesi	IX	2	Secretary of student council	BA, doing MA	Doctor	Daughter of regent; former Miss Manado and second runner up for Miss Indonesia; father is suspected of corruption
Aliyah Mustika Ilham	Demokrat	46	Married	4	Muslim	South Sulawesi	IX	1	Youth wing within party, led party's women's wing	BA Economy	Marketing, finance	Wife of former Major of Makassar,

												husband is suspected for corruption
Hanna Gayatri	PAN	63	Married	4	Islam	South Sumatra	V	2	No	BA Law	Business Woman	Well known for engaging in women's empowerment
Dewi Coryati	PAN	51	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	South Sumatra	IV	2	Political cadre	MAx2 Veterinarian & Political Science	Veterinarian	Alleged of being corrupted
Desy Ratnasari	PAN	41	Re-married	1	Islam	West Java	VIII	1	Political cadre	MA Psychology	Singer, model, actress	"Considered a natural beauty"; very popular singer
Yayuk Basuki	PAN	44	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Java	X	1	No	High School	Tennis player	Ranked the best tennis player ever from Indonesia
Laila Istiana	PAN	43	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	Middle Java	X	1	Political cadre	MA Chinese	Teacher	-
Ammy Amalia Fatma Surya	PAN	33	Unknown	1	Unknown	Middle Java	II	1	No	MA	Senior Associate in Law Office	Daughter of an important businessman
Yasti Soepredjo Mokoagow	PAN	47	Unknown	3	Islam	Middle Sulawesi	XI	2	Treasurer	BA Social Science and Politics	Business Woman	Alleged of corruption
Indira Chunda Thita	PAN	37	Single	1	Islam	South Sulawesi	IV	2	Within party and different organizations	MA Management	Unknown	Daughter of governor of south

Syahrul												Sulawesi
Tina Nur Alam	PAN	48	Married	Unknown	Islam	Southeast Sulawesi	VI	1	Chairman of different organizations	MA Management	Tourist marketing	Wife of Former governor of southwest Sulawesi; alleged of abusing power and corruption; father former chairman of local party
Elviana	PPP	48	Married	3	Islam	South Sumatra	X	2	Within DPD	PhD Biology	Lecturer Edinburgh	-
Okky Asokawati	PPP	54	Widow	2	Islam	West Java	IX	2	Different chairman positions; within party	MA Psychology	Model	
Reni Marlinawati	PPP	42	Married	3	Islam	West Java	X	2	Active in student movement; different committees	PhD Management Education	Lecturer	-
Wardatul Asriah	PPP	50	Married	Unknown	Islam	West Java	V	2	Student movements	BA Religious Studies	Business Woman, director	Married to former minister of Religious Affairs and former Chairman of the PPP
Nurhayati	PPP	46	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	V	1	Within different organizations, such as women's and industry	High School	Business woman, director	Wife of leader of party and senior figure
Irna	PPP	40	Married	3	Islam	West Java	IV	2	General secretary	MA Management	Unknown	Wife of

Narulita									of Women Development Association, different chairman positions			former regent, was a candidate for Vice Governor of Banten with husband; suspected of "black campaign"
Kartika Yudhisti	PPP	28	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	I	1	Student movement; deputy treasurer within party	MA Advanced Chemical Engineering	Business Woman	Daughter of former minister of religious affairs, alleged of corruption
Ermalena	PPP	58	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Nusa Tenggara	IX	1	Party cadre, student movement, youth organization	BA Pharmacy	Director	Alleged of corruption
Kasriyah	PPP	62	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	East Kalimantan	XI	1	Political cadre, local parliament	MA Law	Local politics	-
Fatmawati Rusdi	PPP	35	Married	Unknown	Islam	South Sulawesi	V	1	Chairman	BA	Business women	Wife of regent
Miryam S. Haryani	Hanura	42	Unknown	Unknown	Islam	West Java	V	2	Politically active since college	MA Administration and Political Science	Business Woman	Was in student movement who tried to topple the new order; did not win 2004

Appendix E: Interview Participants

Participant	MP1*	MP2	MP3	MP4	MP5	MP6
Age	52	43	35	37	60	53
Origin	Jakarta	Central Java	East Java	West Java	Jakarta	Jakarta
Party	Before: PPP	Nasdem	PKB	PDI-P	Demokrat	PPP
Commission	n.a	IX	IX	II	VI	IX
Number of terms served	1 (2004-2009)	1 (2014-2019)	1 (2014-2019)	1 (2014-2019)	2 (2014-2009; 2014-2019)	2 (2014-2009; 2014-2019)
Educational Level	BA English Literature	High School	Doing PhD	BA	MA	MA Psychology
Profession	Deputy Secretary General for PPP	Hotel sales and advertising	Academic	Activist, within different NGOs	Own business (travel agent)	Model, TV host
Marital Status	Married	Married	Single	Single	Married	Widow
Children	3	4	0	0	3	2

* Former MP

Appendix F: Interview Guide

Introduction

- Introduction
- Purpose of Research/Interview
- Briefly tell participant about narrative interview
- Written/Oral Consent

Small Talk

- What party?
- Family Situation?
- Number of terms served?
- Educational background/level
- Profession
- Age

Narrative

- Please tell me about your way into parliament
 - *Follow up questions (if needed/not covered):*
 - What support system did you have?
 - How did you get elected?
 - Was there any obstacles/barriers on your way?

- Please tell me about your work in the parliament
 - *Follow up questions (if needed/not covered):*
 - Main issue you're working on
 - Main obstacles/enabler?
 - How are you working with this/these issues?
 - Are you a member of the women parliamentary caucus?
 - Are there any obstacles posed for you as a woman?
 - What commission?

- What is your major role as an MP?

- How would you define women's issues?

Wrap up

- Summarize, clarify, ask last follow-up questions
- Thanks

Appendix G: Categorizing of Current Female MPs

<p>Age</p>	<p>20-29 years old: 4% 30-39 years old: 25% 40-49 years old: 36% 50-59 years old: 28% 60-70 years old: 6% 70-80 years old: 1%</p>
<p>Professional Background</p>	<p>Businesswomen: 36% Practitioners*: 23% Celebrities: 9% NGO/Activists: 2% Politics**: 11% Other/Unknown: 19%</p>
<p>Family Background</p>	<p>34% of the current female MPs are related (daughter, wife, niece, granddaughter) to party officials, state officials or ex-officials, royalty, regents, businesspeople.</p>
<p>Party Affiliation</p>	<p>18% of the current female MPs are party cadres, been in youth wing of the party or served within party for a long period of time before becoming an MP.</p> <p>48% had no prior political knowledge before becoming MPs.</p>
<p>Education</p>	<p>High School: 10% Bachelor degree: 45% Master degree: 38% PhD/Doctor degree: 4% Other: 3%</p>
<p>Number or Terms Served</p>	<p>1 term: 59% 2 terms: 37% 3 terms: 3% 4 terms: 1%</p>

* Practitioners meaning Physicians, lawyer, teacher, consultant, journalist etc.

** Only background within politics, local politics, within party etc.